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O 311502Z MAY 94
 FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9795
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
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 USIA WASHDC 1590
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LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KE, PHUM, MOPS
 SUBJ: UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE PLEADS FOR IMMEDIATE US
 MILITARY SUPPORT IN MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD

1. SUMMARY: IN A MAY 31 MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR
 ATWOOD AND MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION, UNAMIR COMMANDER
 DALLAIRE REQUESTED GREATER U.S. SUPPORT FOR HIS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES L DARIS
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 31 MAY 2009
 DATE/CASE ID: 21 MAR 2006 200103014

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PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN THE FORM OF IMMEDIATE EQUIPMENT AND AIRLIFT SUPPORT. HE CAUTIONED THAT REBUILDING RWANDA WAS NOT A "SHORT-TERM CRUSADE" BUT THAT TAKING ACTION NOW CAN HELP STABILIZE THE SITUATION AND PREVENT EVEN FURTHER DETERIORATION AND LOSS OF LIFE. THE RPF, CONTINUING TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE BATTLEFIELD, HAS NO INCLINATION TO AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE. DALLAIRE DOESN'T THINK KENYA PRESIDENT MOI'S RECENTLY ANNOUNCED PEACE INITIATIVE WILL GO ANYWHERE. HE REJECTED THE IDEA OF "SAFE HAVENS" OR A CHAPTER SEVEN U.N. OPERATION.

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END SUMMARY

2. ON MAY 31, AID ADMINISTRATOR BRIAN ATWOOD MET WITH UNAMIR COMMANDER MAJOR-GENERAL DALLAIRE AT THE LATTER'S URGENT REQUEST IN THE VIP LOUNGE OF THE NAIROBI AIRPORT TO DISCUSS THE MILITARY AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN RWANDA. DALLAIRE, WHO HAS COMMANDED THE UNAMIR CONTINGENT IN RWANDA SINCE JUST AFTER THE APRIL 6 ASSASSINATION OF THE RWANDA AND BURUNDI PRESIDENTS, WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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TO RETURN TO RWANDA IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MEETING.
ATWOOD WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY AF/E DIRECTOR SHINN, OFDA
DIRECTOR BORTON, NSC REPRESENTATIVE MAC DESHAZER, CHARGE
SOUTHWICK, ACTING KUSLO CHIEF HAYES, AND POLOFF CASSIDY.

DALLAIRE CALLS FOR US ACTION

3. DALLAIRE MADE CLEAR THROUGHOUT THE MEETING HIS DESIRE FOR A GREATER U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA AND HIS FRUSTRATION WITH THE SLOW PACE OF AMERICAN DECISION-MAKING. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE U.S. NOW WORKED UNDER "DOCUMENT 25" IN ASSIGNING PEACEKEEPING FORCES TO THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT THAT THERE WAS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR U.S. LOGISTICAL CAPACITY OR DOMINANCE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. DALLAIRE WAS PLEASED WITH HIS GHANAIAN TROOPS, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY SERVED IN (AND BEEN FORCED TO FIGHT THEIR WAY INTO) LIBERIA. TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS FROM SENEGAL, BANGLADESH OR ZIMBABWE WOULD BE HELPFUL BUT DALLAIRE WARNED THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT TROOPS WITHOUT PROPER EQUIPMENT. HE URGED THAT THE USG PROVIDE EQUIPMENT OR AT LEAST AIRLIFT CAPABILITY TO THE NEW FORCE.

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SPECIFIC REQUESTS

4. DALLAIRE SAID THAT INTERNATIONAL TROOPS WOULD BE
NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT AND MONITOR AN EVENTUAL CEASEFIRE,
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WHICH MIGHT HAPPEN WHEN THE RPF "RAN OUT OF STEAM."
TROOPS WOULD ALSO BE NEEDED IN CONJUNCTION WITH A
HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT. THE INCREASED VOLUME OF
RWANDANS IN GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED AREAS, PARTICULARLY IN
THE SOUTHWEST AREA OF THE COUNTRY, WOULD INCREASE
COMPETITION FOR RELIEF FOOD AND POSSIBLY IGNITE MORE
MASSACRES ON A MASSIVE SCALE. INTERNATIONAL TROOPS
WOULD HAVE TO WORK WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO ENSURE
PEACE AT DISTRIBUTION CENTERS. DALLAIRE SAID THAT THE
RED CROSS IS THE ONLY NGO IN CONTROL OF ITS DISTRIBUTION

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SYSTEM ALL THE WAY TO THE RECIPIENTS, AND RELATED A
STORY WHERE ANOTHER NGO LEFT 4000 GALLONS OF DIESEL
FUEL, WITH OBVIOUS MILITARY APPLICATIONS, UNSUPERVISED.

5. DALLAIRE HAS REQUESTED 5500 TROOPS AS HIS "MINIMUM
VIABLE" NUMBER. HE HOPES THE FORCE WILL BE COMPRISING
PRIMARILY OF AFRICANS BUT SAID NORTH AMERICANS HAVE
ALWAYS BEEN WELCOMED BY BOTH SIDES IN RWANDA.

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HE PREDICTED

HE WOULD NOT HAVE TROOPS IN RWANDA FOR TWO MONTHS,
PARTLY DUE TO USG "STALLING."

6. DALLAIRE REJECTED THE IDEA OF "SAFE HAVENS" GIVEN
RWANDA'S MIXED-UP ETHNIC MAP, SAYING THAT ONLY THE BAD
GUYS -- THOSE INVOLVED IN CIVILIAN MASSACRES -- COULD
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REACH SUCH HAVENS, JUST AS MANY RESPONSIBLE FOR CIVILIAN
MASSACRES EARLY IN THE FIGHTING FLED TO TANZANIA WHEN
THE RPF ADVANCED SOUTHWARD TOWARDS RUSUMU. IN RESPONSE
TO AN ATWOOD QUESTION ABOUT TERMS OF REFERENCE, DALLAIRE
SAID THAT A UN CHAPTER SEVEN "PEACEMAKING" PROVISION
WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. A CHAPTER SIX OPERATION WOULD
AUTHORIZE TROOPS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND UN
INSTALLATIONS LIKE CAMPS FOR THE DISPLACED. THE
PROVISION ON "CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY" COULD BE USED TO
HELP GAIN ACCESS TO AREAS CUT OFF BY ROADBLOCKS.
DALLAIRE RELATED HOW EVEN NOW HIS RECONNAISSANCE UNITS
HAVE TRAVELED WIDELY THROUGHOUT RWANDA, IN ONE INSTANCE
MOVING SUCCESSFULLY THROUGH 13 GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED
ROADBLOCKS ON THE ROAD FROM BUTARE TO CYANGUGU.

REFUGEES AND DISPLACED

7. DALLAIRE SAID THAT WHEN THE FIGHTING STARTED IN
EARLY APRIL, THERE WERE ALREADY 273,000 REFUGEES IN
SOUTHERN RWANDA (MAINLY HUTUS FROM BURUNDI) AND 500,000
DISPLACED BY THE LAST WAR STILL IN NORTHERN RWANDA SOUTH
OF THE DMZ. TENSION HAD BEEN RISING DUE TO BAD CROP
CONDITIONS AND THE COMPETITION FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES. A
MAJOR PROBLEM NOW IS THE WAVE OF DISPLACED HUTUS FLEEING
THE RPF ADVANCE, PERHAPS AS MANY AS 1 MILLION ACCORDING
TO DALLAIRE, CAUSED IN LARGE PART BY A GOVERNMENT
PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WHICH WARNS HUTUS THAT THEY WILL BE
SLAUGHTERED BY THE RPF, AND BY WIDELY HELD HUTU VIEWS OF
THE SUPERIOR QUALITIES OF TUTSIS.

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8. THE 3 MILLION PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED SOUTHWEST RWANDA ARE BEING "SQUEEZED" BY THE RPF ADVANCE. ASKED BY ATWOOD WHETHER THESE DISPLACED COULD SPILL OVER INTO BURUNDI OR ZAIRE, DALLAIRE ADMITTED THAT IT WAS A POSSIBILITY BUT THAT A RIVER PREVENTED EASY ENTRY INTO BURUNDI, AND A LARGE FOREST BARRED THE WAY INTO ZAIRE.

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[REDACTED] 1.4(D)

MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE

9. SINCE BOTH SIDES ARE STILL RECRUITING AND THE GOVERNMENT TROOPS IN PARTICULAR HAVE EXPERIENCED DESERTIONS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO MAKE ESTIMATES OF TROOP STRENGTH. GIVEN THAT CAVEAT, DALLAIRE THINKS THAT THE RPF MAY NOW HAVE 30,000 TO 35,000 TROOPS IN THE FIELD, WITH ITS BEST SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT. IN CONTRAST, THE GOVERNMENT AND ALLIED FORCES HAVE SOME 34,000 TROOPS, THOUGH SOME OF THESE ARE RECENT RECRUITS ONLY GIVEN TWO WEEKS TRAINING PRIOR TO BEING THROWN INTO BATTLE. DALLAIRE BELIEVES BIZIMUNGU, THE CURRENT RWANDA ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, IS BECOMING MORE MODERATE AS THE RPF ADVANCES, AND IS PROVIDING THE GITARAMA-BASED INTERIM GOVERNMENT WITH SOME BADLY-NEEDED HONEST INFORMATION FROM THE BATTLEFIELD. THE HUTU MILITIAS AND SELF-DEFENSE FORCES ARE STILL "OUT OF CONTROL" IN MANY AREAS BUT ARE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT DEFENSE PLAN AND ARE COUNTED ALONG WITH GOVERNMENT REGULARS, AS IS THE

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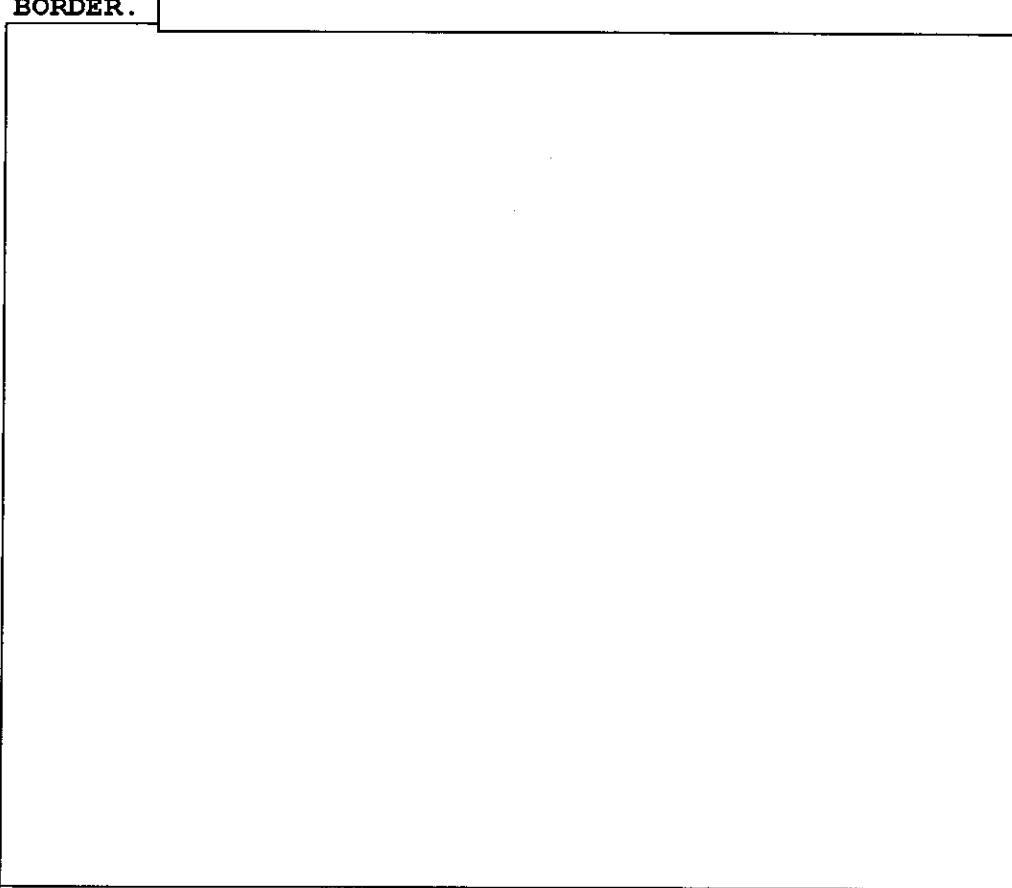
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6000-MAN GENDARMERIE, WHICH DALLAIRE THINKS IS A
SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT KIND OF FORCE SINCE IT ORIGINALLY
INCLUDED MANY TUTSI.

THE RPF-UGANDA CONNECTION

10. UNAMIR CONTINUES TO MONITOR THE UGANDA BORDER BY
HELICOPTER FOR EVIDENCE THAT THE RPF IS RECEIVING
SUPPLIES FROM UGANDA. SO FAR, THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF
SIGNIFICANT ARMS OR MATERIEL SHIPMENTS ACROSS THE
BORDER. [REDACTED]

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BATTLEFIELD ACTIVITY

12. THE RPF HAVE SO FAR MANAGED TO TAKE THE EASTERN
HALF OF THE COUNTRY INCLUDING HALF OF THE CAPITAL CITY,

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THE ENTIRE TANZANIAN BORDER AND MOST OF THE COUNTRY'S
BORDERS WITH UGANDA AND BURUNDI. RWANDA GOVERNMENT
FORCES AND ALLIED MILITIAS MAINTAIN SOME CONTROL OVER
OTHER PARTS. THE RPF IS PUTTING FURTHER PRESSURE ON
GOVERNMENT AND ALLIED FORCES FROM THE EAST IN KIGALI AND
FROM THE SOUTH IN GITARAMA. THE RPF HAS JUST CUT THE
MAIN ROAD BETWEEN GITARAMA AND BUTARE. THERE ARE STILL
STRONG POCKETS OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY
AROUND GISENYI AND RUHENERI IN THE NORTHWEST AND IN THE
CYANGUGU AREA OF SOUTHWEST RWANDA. THESE AREAS,
ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE, CONTAIN SOME OF THE MOST
EXTREMIST HUTU FORCES, WHILE MORE MODERATE HUTUS CONTROL
THE REGION AROUND BUTARE TO THE BURUNDI BORDER.

13. DALLAIRE STRESSED THAT THE FIGHT FOR KIGALI WAS NOT
OVER, SINCE THE HEART OF DOWNTOWN AND SIGNIFICANT
POCKETS WERE HELD BY GOVERNMENT FORCES AND HUTU MILITIAS
CONTROLLED TRACTS OF THE CITY'S SOUTHWEST. THE ONLY
PLACE A TRUCE APPEARED TO APPLY WAS ALONG THE ROAD
THROUGH KIGALI. THE RPF ASSAULT THREATENING THE MAIN
ROAD BETWEEN KIGALI AND GITARAMA WAS A WORRY, DALLAIRE
SAID; CUT OFF FROM THEIR LINE OF ESCAPE TO THE CAPITAL
OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN GITARAMA, SURROUNDED

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GOVERNMENT AND MILITIA TROOPS MIGHT DECIDE TO FIGHT TO
THE LAST IN THE CITY.

ATROCITIES AND RPF REPRISALS

14. RPF LEADER KAGEME TOLD DALLAIRE THAT HE WANTS TO
GET THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES "IN HIS SIGHTS OR
IN COURT" ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE. THE SOUTHERN RWANDA
TOWN OF BUTARE IS A GOOD EXAMPLE, SAID DALLAIRE. THE
AREA WAS LARGELY QUIET UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT CHANGED THE

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LOCAL COMMANDER, AFTER WHICH UNAMIR STARTED RECEIVING REPORTS OF MASSACRES. DALLAIRE CAUTIONED THAT THE RPF WERE NOT SAINTS BUT WERE MORE "SMOOTH" THAN THE GOVERNMENT. AMONG MANY FOREIGNERS THERE IS A BIT OF NAIVETE ABOUT THE RPF, DALLAIRE SAID, AND MANY NGO'S MIGHT BE ACCUSED OF ASSISTING THEM. THE RPF EVEN BLOCKS HIS RECONNAISANCE TROOPS ON OCCASION, AND ADMITS FRANKLY ITS POLICY OF EXECUTING THOSE IT SAYS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES, WHICH DALLAIRE CALLED "TRIAGE."

CHANCES FOR A CEASEFIRE

15. THE GOVERNMENT SIDE HAS WANTED A CEASEFIRE SINCE APRIL 15 BUT THE RPF IS MAKING TOO MUCH PROGRESS ON THE BATTLEFIELD NOW. NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE AT THE STAFF LEVEL (DALLAIRE SAID THE LAST SESSION WAS MAY 30) BUT THE RPF CONTINUES TO DEMAND PROOF OF PROGRESS ON THREE

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FRONTS -- AN END TO THE MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS, AN END TO INCITEFUL GOVERNMENT RADIO BROADCASTS, AND THE FREE MOVEMENT OF DISPLACED CIVILIANS ACROSS BATTLE LINES.
PRESSED ON THE POINT BY SHINN, DALLAIRE ADMITTED THAT THE RPF HAD LITTLE INCENTIVE TO AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE NOW.

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(NOTE:

[REDACTED] (NOTE:
PRESIDENT MOI TOLD ATWOOD DELEGATION EARLIER MAY 31 THAT
SO FAR HE HAD NOT/NOT RECEIVED CONFIRMATION THAT MOBUTU
WOULD ATTEND). THE GOVERNMENT IS CONTROLLED BY HUTU

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EXTREMISTS AND REJECTS RPF CONTROL OF 50 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY. THE RPF FIGHTS ON, REFUSING TO TALK WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. FOR GENUINE PEACE TALKS TO OCCUR, DALLAIRE OPINED, A NEW GROUP OF HUTU MODERATES MUST EMERGE FROM THE REMAINING HUTU CIVILIAN MODERATES (NOW MOSTLY ABROAD IN PARIS OR BRUSSELS), AND HUTU MODERATES IN THE MILITARY.

[REDACTED]

1.4(D)

17. WHEN ASKED BY SHINN FOR HIS BOTTOM LINE MESSAGE TO THE USG, DALLAIRE REPLIED "SEND THE EQUIPMENT TO PUT THE PEACEKEEPING TROOPS ON THE GROUND LAST (SIC) WEEK." WITHOUT US EQUIPMENT, UNAMIR CAN DO VIRTUALLY NOTHING. UNAMIR ALSO NEEDS STRATEGIC LIFT FROM THE U.S.
SOUTHWICK##

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